

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

INFORMATION BULLETIN

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

May - 1985

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

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INFORMATION BULLETIN

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Recently, more than 200 patriots were sentenced to up to 17 years' imprisonments in the trial against the CPT on the Ankara Martial Law Court. The military court passed sentence on these patriots in accordance with the articles 141/142 of the Turkish Penal Code indicting that they were members of our party. So the number of the workers, trade unionists, intellectuals, students and progressive women who were sentenced to long years' imprisonments in the trials opened against the CPT is nearly a thousand. Still there are more arrests, torture and new trials against the CPT.

No one can claim the existence of democracy in a country where the communist party is outlawed, people are arrested and tortured because they approved the opinions of the communist party, kept in prison for years and even killed because they carried out political activities in line with its assessments.

The real face of those who resort to severe repression on the CPT, attempt to make slander against our party by the most cruel lies becomes more apparent every other day. Those who say "All we have done is to prevent the return to the state of terror existed before September 12 1980", now release all members of the fascist Nationalist Action Party including the chief of terrorism, the chairman of this party, Alpaslan Türkeş, assign them with important tasks in the state apparatus. Those who call themselves the followers of Atatürk, now put the country into the service of US imperialism, turn it into Hong Kong of the Middle East. Those who say "we will overcome inflation and decrease unemployment" leave our people in need of bread.

Those patriots who are on trial which opened against the CPT in Ankara and in other Courts-Martial were sentenced to imprisonments because they opposed all these and defended the interests of the people. They attack onto the CPT because it points out the way of liberation to the people. The CPT is kept outlawed with the purpose of preventing the people to see the truth, to learn to hold its own destiny in its hands.

Kenan Evren who destroyed national sovereignty and established the dictatorship of minority of a handful of US servants and rocketeering capitalists attacked once more onto the forces who defend national sovereignty, democracy, national independence, on the Day of National Sovereignty on April 23, he threatened them and tried to defend his shameful regime. Evren now fears that the people get hold of the demand for democracy more firmly. His threats only proves the weakness of the dictatorship.

In spite of being under continuous repression and terror, the CPT takes every risk and carries out and will carry out the struggle for restoration of democracy. This struggle can be triumphant only if the unity of all forces who demand democracy is achieved.

The CPT calls upon everyone who favours democracy to oppose the repression over the CPT to protest verdicts against the patriots to raise voices for

their annulment. That is necessary for true restoration of democracy. The communists fight not only for their own interests but for the interests of the people. Anti-communism of Evren-Özal administration is directed not only towards communists but towards everybody who defend the interests of the people in this or that extent.

It is impossible to repel the dictatorship, to restore democracy without waging struggle for the freedom of people to join and support a certain political party as they wish.

The democracy desired by the people can not be considered without the CPT.

April 30, 1985

*Central Committee
Communist Party of Turkey*

4TH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPT CC

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey held its 4th plenary meeting. The Central Committee discussed the PB report presented to the meeting by comrade Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CPT CC. It dealt particularly with the problems of the struggle for democracy and strengthening the CPT in this struggle. It put forward concrete goals for the work to be carried out for celebration of the 65th founding anniversary of the CPT.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC noted that although the fascist dictatorship has weakened it still preserves its existence, but the democratic movement has broadened out, inspite of all repression and manoeuvres of Evren-Özal administration, anti-dictatorship forces were not in retreat but yet could not succeed to gain enough power which enables them to give an end to the dictatorship and to restore democracy.

Today the most important task before our people is achievement of democracy in the country. Democracy can be restored only by rally of the democratic forces around a common platform and by an active struggle of the people for democracy. The plenary meeting underlined that further strengthening and broadening of the Left Unity formed by six left parties including the CPT could play an important role in attainment of these goals. It stated the necessity of a dialogue between opposition forces and the left forces and close up of all opposition on the basis of the demand and struggle for democracy for repel of the fascist dictatorship for thwarting the ploys of Evren-Özal duet and for paving the way for a true transition to democracy.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC appealed all democratic forces asking them while drawing up their political positions and approaches to take into full consideration the significant changes in the economic and social structure in the foreign affairs, in the cultural life and mentality in past five years under the rule of a dictatorship and as an entailment of this to be ready to make every sacrifice for restoration of democracy.

The pressing state of the economy, intensification of the problems in the foreign policy, new military and economic impositions of the US imperialism, all create numerous threats before our people. Evren-Özal administration irresponsibly drives the republic into an abyss. With the feeling of a great responsibility for the future of our people and our country, the CPT appeals every and each patriot: No time should be wasted for getting united against the dictators.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC made a decision on celebration of the 65th anniversary of our party under the motto of "democratic Turkey and a stronger CPT", by raising further the struggle for restoration of democracy, by strengthening the CPT in this struggle and by making every effort in order to heighten it into a state of an inevitable force of the social life.

In regard with this the communists will make every effort during the year of 1985

- for stop of tortures and executions, stop of arrests with political reasons, for end of oppression and slaughter over Kurdish people and for a general political amnesty,

- reachievement of all democratic rights and freedoms and for a national democratic constitution,

- for raise of the peace movement against the Defence and Cooperation Treaty with the USA and against the US military bases,

- against dismissals, unemployment and high cost of living, for protection of the economic and social rights of the working people and in all these fields for further raise of the people's struggle and of the democratic forces. They will combine the struggle for early elections with the fight for above mentioned demands.

The CPT will step up its work of explanation of the goal of national democracy to the people.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC made decisions in connection with necessary preparations for weekly publication of the CC organ ATILIM in the 65th founding anniversary of the party as it serves for establishment of closer ties between the party and party symphatizers and for strengthening of the party organisationally, raise of the level of qualifications for party membership in the spirit of 65th anniversary, for gaining of a qualified new party members and further development of party activities in Western Europe.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC noted the significant contribution to the multi-sided development of our party of the contest of delivering articles and information to the party organs, decided to traditionalize it, also the results of the contest to be announced every year in "May 1st" issue of ATILIM and to take required measures for a broader participation in the contest.

In the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the 4th plenary meeting tributed respect the struggle of all anti-fascist forces above all of the Soviet people who took the risk of unprecedented sacrifices for the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and emphasized that in order to prevent the mankind from facing such a disaster, it is necessary to get united against the war before it starts.

The plenary meeting protested with a statement years of imprisonment sentences in one of the trials opened against the CPT in Ankara. It underlined that the most concrete proof of the fact that democracy does not exist in our country is being a member of a political party, the CPT is counted as an offence and appealed all democratic forces to raise their voices against the court's conviction which is hostile to all kinds of juridical understanding and justice.

The 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC greeted with the feelings of solidarity all workers, peasant, intellectuals, youngmen, those patriots who are either in prison or immigrants, who celebrated the May Day under the conditions of a dictatorship.

On the 65th founding anniversary of the CPT, the plenary meeting called upon all communists to make every sacrifice for a democratic Turkey and a stronger CPT'

May 1, 1985

Central Committee
Communist Party of Turkey

COMRADE HAYDAR KUTLU SPOKE ON THE VOICE OF THE CPT

On May Day, Comrade Haydar Kutlu addressed to the people on the Voice of the CPT. In his speech, he congratulated the May Day of the workers, of all working people and emphasized the struggle for democracy. Below is given the speech of comrade Haydar Kutlu in abridge.

We are celebrating the fifth May Day under the rule of the dictatorship. Even if the fascist dictatorship is getting weakened, still it is there. But the number of those who celebrate the May Day despite all repressive measures is greater and more powerful. Now our working class, patriotic forces gained a new weapon in this struggle. Today the Left Unity started to publish its own paper.

On the May Day of this year our task is to think over the way of restoration of democracy and to do what is required without a delay.

First of all, we must avoid ourselves from making mistakes. Some may think now that as we are not strong enough, the left forces, workers can not do anything about overthrow of the dictatorship and for restoration of democracy. Therefore we should wait. At first glance, it seems logical but actually it does not suit the fighting mentality, the character of the working class and it is not correct.

Does waiting change anything? Who by itself offered your rights to you up to now? Is it correct to expect the prime minister Özal to leave the government and its replacement by the Righteous Party or the Social Democracy Party and than it will be the turn of the workers and the left forces? This way of thinking is not estimating the force of the enemy and not to understand its plans. The fascist dictatorship is there with all its power. Here are some speeches of president Evren. He does not speak as a president but he speaks on behalf of the government and even in the name of the parliament.

By the September 12 coup the country has been driven backwards in the economical, political, cultural and mental fields to such extent that the vital problems of the society can not be solved by a simple change of the government, no matter which section of the bourgeoisie comes into power.

The country has become more dependent on the US imperialism. At each opportunity, the US authorities do not hesitate to state the importance of Turkey from their point of view. Turkey is a base of a strategic importance in the Middle East, that the US imperialism can not give up easily. Our country has been reverted into an open market of the foreign monopolies. Collaborating monopolies and the tycoons will never cease from their profits. Even if just a light wind of democracy blows in the country, the dictatorship knows very well what changes will take place in the country. For that reason, one should not expect this wind to blow easily.

On the other hand, by repressive measures and threats and various promises, the dictatorship tries to tame the non-parliamentarian opposition. By this way and through a kind of an "alternative government" to be formed by imposi-

ons, by splits by some combinations will not solve any of the problems. It should not be forgotten that in such a situation, the repressive institutions to be prepared and strengthened by the fascist dictatorship will be used against above all the workers, left forces and against those who really want democracy.

The national democracy that gives an end to slavishly dependence on imperialism, the feeder of fascism and all types of reaction, that ensures national independence and rights of sovereignty and peace, that limits the exploitation of a handful of collaborating, plundering monopolies, that clears all obstacles before the freedom of trade union activities and political organisation of the working class, freedom of ' Kurdish people, all democratic rights and freedoms are ensured by a national democratic constitution and the working class is in an influential position, such type of national democracy can respond the demand of overwhelming majority of the society.

The most revolutionary task of the present is to fight for democracy. The majority of the nation wants democracy although it differs in deepness. We can not juxtapose our understanding of democracy against others. We can not turn our back to the demands for democracy in various colours.

No matter which section of the bourgeoisie comes into power, it will care for its own class interests. It will not by itself say yes to a democracy which is open to the interests of the working class. On the contrary, the working class should wage a struggle at the forefront for their democratic rights as well. Only by doing so, the workers will be not in the tail of the bourgeoisie but in front of it.

The masses should grasp our political strategy and tactics. Because that is for them. The workers should see the each step of the political struggle that has to be taken. We should show them. Workers should be able to perceive the policy of the ruling classes, their insidious ploys and their class interests covered by superficial words, no matter which section of the bourgeoisie that is.

The plots of the dictatorship to split the opposition forces should be explained to our people. If the non-parliamentarian parties can not deepen the dialogue and cooperation among themselves, the dictatorship will win.

Today the separating line is between those forces who want democracy and the opposing forces, the dictatorship and those who are in favour of the present regime.

Shortly overthrow of the dictatorship and restoration of democracy requires the resistance of the masses. The broader the political forces joining the democratic opposition, the more united the popular forces will be. As more influential the working class and the left forces in the democratic opposition, as strong as will be the resistance of the popular masses. And as powerful as the resistance of the democratic opposition as more democratic as the coming regime will be.

We must step up the work of making the factories as our fortiers But at the same time the factories must be the bastions of the struggle for democracy.

We should be together with the workers, side by side with the intellectuals, the youth and with every section of the society and we should be at the forefront of the struggle for democracy.

Voice of the CPT

BROADENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Below are some extractions from the report of the Political Bureau presented by General Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey, Haydar Kutlu in the 4th plenary meeting of the CPT CC.

Today broad sections of people realize through their own experiences that the promises given by the government were just empty words. Smuggling and bribery has become part an parcel of the daily life and exhibits the fact that the regime itself is the feeder and supporter of racketeers. Involvement of Özal, his ilk and military generals in million liras worth of racketeering and bribery bussiness has become public.

The parliament formed after general elections on November 6, 1983 now does not itself believe even its own existence. Demand for early elections has become a common voice of three legal opposition parties, which caused a real panic in the sham parliament. So-called opposition parties taking place in the parliament of the regime are practically dispersed.

Inside the Motherland Party (ANAP) conflicts are increasing. Disintegration of this party is prevented only by means of Byzantine intrigues.

Understanding of the sham character of the parliament, paralyzed state of the political party system of the regime prove the fact that in the present regime, it is out of possibility for the political parties to have any right on the power and the regime does not have any democratic element. If the Motherland Party, despite of being allegedly the government party is shaken by internal crisis, it is the consequence of this fact. Of course, certain circles in the ANAP leadership, above all Özal's group and supporters of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP, fascist party existed

before September 12 1980 coup) have undertaken certain functions to keep up the regime but as a political party ANAP is no more than a cover for the regime.

For that reason, under the conditions of a political crisis, it will not be a mistake to expect further deepening of the conflicts inside ANAP. It will not be suprising to see so-called politicians who had run into this party to get a share from exploitation and plunder, beginning to scream out as they find out there is nothing to be left for them from the smugglers at the top.

Deepening crisis of the regime leads to conflicts among the conveyers or supporting forces of the regime. The generals, T.Özal and the monopoly press, MHP and TUSİAD (Association of Industrialists and Bussnessmen of Turkey) and similar centres, from time to time are holding contradicting positions in choosing the methods for consolidation of the regime.

In the past period we have witnessed further broadening of the opposition forces, their mobilization and getting closer to eachother in some extent.

Formation of the Left Unity has been a qualitatively new development. Splits, involvement in internal conflicts which was a prevailing tendency in the left since the second half of 1960s was reversed for the first time by a serious approach. Now the possibility of dominance of the tendency towards unity has increased. Moreover, the political parties which formed the Left Unity has reached to an

agreement not only on the general matters of principle but also on the approach towards the present, urgent and vital problems of the people and therefore created the conditions for the effective interference of the Left Unity in the political struggle.

Legal opposition parties did not retreat before the dictatorship. These parties now express their opinions more openly and in detail. Necessity of returning to democracy, unalterability of the principles of democracy from one country to another, need of establishment of democracy in Turkey like in Western countries, all these views are shared now by SODEP, DYP and RP. (1)

Now all three legal opposition parties more freely defend the demand for general elections to be held urgently, without waiting for the year of 1988.

Besides the demand of returning to a democratic regime, concern about for instance the development of US-Turkish relations inequitably and in the detriment of Turkey, IMF agreements further worsen the economical development and development of relations with the Soviet Union being in harmony with the interests of the country are shared by both, three legal opposition parties, although they are raised separately and by the left forces.

On the other hand, the opinion which we persistently defended from the very beginning gains strength the opinion that restoration of democracy would not be easy, not a single political force is able to carry the country into a democratic regime by itself and democracy can be attained only by the joint struggle of those who want it.

What is to be driven from all is that our views in relation to the need

of an active struggle against the dictatorship and national democracy can be accepted by broad forces and on our part, the need of increasing our efforts for a national dialogue and unity.

The trade union movement now more openly takes a side against the Özal government and against the codes in regard with the trade union activity and implementations of the regime.

One of the most important forces opposing the Evren-Özal regime is the intellectuals' movement. In spite of continuous attacks and threats of the dictatorship, they kept upholding the banner of democracy.

It is also difficult for the regime to calm down the reaction against the economic policy raised by the Agricultural Chamber and by organisations of craftsmen and small shop owners.

Unability of the government in recovery of the economy is understood now not only by the working people, middle strata but also by some sections of the bourgeoisie who is also affected by the policy of Özal government.

Now the demand for a general political amnesty is shared by several number of forces. The dictatorship has tried various ways of covering up this matter but each time it has been unsuccessful. On the contrary, today the question of freedom for all political prisoners and lift of the bans on former politicians gradually become a single and the same question, the question of freedom of all people who have been subjected to the attack of the "September 12" regime hence stretching out the basis of the movement for a general political amnesty.

On the other hand, demands for organisation of demonstrations, meet-

(1) Three bourgeois opposition parties, namely Social Democracy Party, Righteous Path Party and Welfare Party.

ings, marches in protest of the government's policies are heard more frequently. Now masses go to the opposition parties and to the trade unions with these demands. There are actions of protest of workers in some districts, also various actions in the universities, meaningful actions of tobacco workers against the government and of those small producers selling their goods in open markets against the local administrations.

It will not be a mistake to drive the following conclusion from all we have mentioned above: Today the conditions show that a democratic front of opposition parties, trade unions, of intellectuals and on the basis of the demand for democracy a mass popular movement is a realistic aim and it is the task of every democratic force to make efforts for its realization.

In our opinion, if the opposition parties outside the parliament does not utilize the present opportunities, if they do not make opposition firmly, if they are not inclined to make closer cooperation among themselves for democracy, Evren-Özal administration will gain time for various manoeuvres.

If the legal opposition parties outside the parliament want to have a real authority, they must take a more firm position against this regime with its constitution and its fascist institutions. Not showing the masses the necessity of raising the struggle for change of the constitution, in our opinion is not an attitude of protecting the opposition against the regi-

Democracy can not be achieved without cognition of the changes took place in the past five years

Solution of accumulated, pressing problems of the country requires first of all change of the political regime and restoration of democracy.

me. What repels the attacks of the dictatorship is participation of the broadest democratic forces and the masses in the political struggle more influentially.

On the other hand, the left forces should avoid themselves from the mistake of thinking that establishment of a dialogue with legal opposition parties for restoration of democracy and cooperation would only serve for these parties to come into power.

Today non-existence of democracy, national independence being only in words, destroy of national economy, faster deepening of social inequity, moral and cultural crisis, all not only result the broadest popular masses to hold the opinion of "this situation have to be changed" but creates a reaction among certain sections of the bourgeoisie which is different than the past.

And of course, in order to reach their class objectives, these political forces try to get a popular support. This fact unfortunately is not evaluated correctly by some left forces.

In a class society, especially under the conditions of fascism, as Lenin said, there is no principle difference between us and the bourgeoisie on the issues in connection with democracy, the difference is in its extent and the degree. The question is the question of who will fight in this battle most consistently, in the most principled way and the most honestly. That is the fundamental symptom which is to be taken into account by the masses.

The coming regime should be such a regime in which the sovereignty belongs to the parliament that represents the whole nation and is open to

all political forces from the DYP to the CPT with the exception of fascists, loyal to the principle of separation of forces, bases itself on human rights, the state should have a national, democratic, secular, social character.

The following objective truth should be seen by all forces whose desire is restoration of democracy: The symphom for democracy is connected with the working class and the attitude towards its organisations. Fascism which is rejection of democracy chooses the working class as a main target for itself. So democracy is obliged to consider the working calss to be a strong basis for itself.

On the other hand, from the point of preservation of democracy and for its development, it is necessary for the trade unions, universities, professional organisations, bars, cultural institutions, local bodies peasant cooperatives which had a particular place in the in the social life in the past to have a place in the political system, that is deserved for.

In our opinion, anti-dictatorship opposition forces can rally around such an understanding of a national democratic regime and they should do so.

Why? Why such a unity is necessary? It is necessary, because the question is to be able to unite the whole majority against the collaborating oligarchy, against a minority regime. Which party or a political trend is able to unite this majority, to win their support by itself? Support does not mean only votes but to be able to base itself of the action of the majority. It is out of possibility to make a change without the action, support of the majority. Overthrow of the dictatorship who is in desparacy of solving problems requires a resistance of the popular masses. As massive as this resistance and as solid as the

unity of political forces participating in the resistance, as democratic as will be the regime to be established after the overthrow of the dictatorship.

In our view, neither of the three main political trends opposing the dictatorship, the left, those who define themselves as social democrat and democratic right can neither alone win the support of the majority nor make a renovation. The demand for democracy however is an objective demand of the majority.

Secondly, no political force by itself can cope with pressing questions in the economic field in the foreign policy and problems in connection with social, cultural life and national defence. Especially when we take into account the destructive acts of the parasidic circles and imperialism who makes profit out of existence of these questions, it will be understood better that it is impossible to settle any of the questions without gaining the support of the people without their actions.

We believe that despite of the class and ideological differences among the opposition forces, a closing up of the ranks of the opposition is both, necessary and possible. At present stage, that is an objective need in Turkey. We think that even begining of a dialogue between the opposition forces on the issues such as "what sort of democracy", "the ways of solving main questions" and "how should the opposition get prepared for early elections" will be a heavy blow onto the regime. We must not forget the fact that its main source of strength is the disunited state of the opposition and its chief effort is to keep and deepen it further. The main subject to unite the opposition is the concept, the demand of democracy and the struggle for democracy.

DOCUMENTS

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPT Comrade Haydar Kutlu sent a message of congratulations to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam on the occasion of 10th anniversary of liberation of South Vietnam from the US occupation and overthrow of the puppet Saigon regime. In his message he underlined that this victory of the Vietnamese people over the US imperialism and its puppets is a historical turning point proving the fact that the struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence, freedom, democracy and social progress can not be halted by means of any force, and it is a source of inspiration and strength for the peoples who fight against imperialism and against its puppet regimes, including the people of Turkey.

April 30, 1985

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the historical victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, on behalf of the working class, the communists of Turkey, and the Central Committee of the CPT, Comrade Haydar Kutlu greeted the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who leaded and directed the fight in the determining front, all members of the Soviet Army and heroic Soviet people who gave 20 million victims for liberation of the peoples from the plague of fascism.

In his message comrade Kutlu says: "As it was before, during and after the Second World War, the Soviet Union behaves with a great responsibility also on the 40th anniversary of the historical victory. Today the socialist community's collective policy which does not allow the imperialism to obtain military supremacy, makes every effort for realization of nuclear disarmament is a determining factor in preservation of peace. The Communist Party of Turkey has put on the top of its agenda to convey the lessons drawn from the Second World War, to form the unity of all anti-war forces, and to work with everything in its power for peaceful co-existence."

May 9, 1985

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

On behalf of the CC of the CPT, of the communists and the working class of our country, comrade Haydar Kutlu congratulated whole members of the Socialist Unity Party

of Germany and the people of German Democratic Republic, conveyed his revolutionary greetings. He underlined that the German communists waged a self sacrificing struggle together with the anti-fascist fighters of the other countries and of the Soviet Union who combatted in the determining front in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. They gave numerous victims. Their self-sacrificing struggle is a source of strength and aspiration for the communists of Turkey who wage a struggle under a fascist dictatorship. The communists of Turkey appreciates highly the internationalist policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

May 8, 1985

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF WEST BERLIN

Comrade Haydar Kutlu also conveyed the greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the working class of Turkey to the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and said that in the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, heroic struggle of the German communists is a source of strength and inspiration for the communists of Turkey, who fight against a fascist dictatorship.

May 8, 1985

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey comrade Haydar Kutlu conveyed greetings to the German Communist Party, and congratulated the communists of the Federal Republic of Germany on the occasion of 40th anniversary of suppression of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism and underlined the cauregeous struggle of the German Communists on the side of the Soviet Union who was playing the determining role in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, in the ranks of all anti-fascist forces of other countries. Their struggle is a source of aspiration for the communists of Turkey.

May 8, 1985